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ABSTRACT

A case is presented to advance education on citizenship within the culturally diverse societies of the developing world. The neglect of a positive approach to citizenship education in the period surrounding decolonization may have contributed to the fact that so many developing nations find themselves with social, political, and economic difficulties. The challenge has become more than one of assuring economic development; it has expanded to include the development of democratic citizenship for all. A new epistemology is needed, one that can recognize citizenship objectives in literacy, numeracy, and other existing subjects in the school curriculum. There is an urgent need to expand the concept of citizenship beyond the narrow bounds of family or tribe if citizens are to be prepared for the age of global rights and responsibilities. There are major academic, intellectual, and political problems to overcome before the intensive academic cooperation that could provide the citizenship education needed in developing countries can emerge. The developed world must make solving these problems and advancing citizenship possible for the developing world. (SLD)

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BRITISH EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL CONFERENCE, OXFORD: SEPTEMBER 1994

Cultural Diversity and Education for Citizenship
A Challenge for Development Education

James Lynch, The World Bank, Washington DC.

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Cultural Diversity and Education for Citizenship
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James Lynch, The World Bank, Washington DC.[1]

My previous work has centred around a number of major concerns: the educational implications of cultural diversity and the role of schools and other educational institutions in combatting prejudice; issues of global interdependence and human rights; and more recently issues of democratic citizenship within culturally diverse communities and societies in a global framework. It is these concerns which now spur me to recognize that, not only has citizenship education been passively and narrowly conceived in those industrialized societies, where it has been implemented, but it is the neglect of a positive approach to citizenship education in the period surrounding decolonization, which may have contributed to the fact that so many developing countries now find themselves in the social and political, not to mention the economic doldrums[2].

True, the legacy, inherent in European monist models of citizenship education, was forged on the anvil of 19th Century nationalistic bigotry, and, thus, entirely inappropriate to developing nations which today need to engage with diversity. Moreover, the hammer to national unity was generally seen as being a single national language. But, more specifically, the major ex-colonial powers and educational agencies continue to ignore the importance of citizenship education to their overall declared goals vis a vis developing countries, of poverty reduction, economic development and political stability within a democratic context. This paper attempts an initial sketch of the case for education for citizenship within culturally diverse societies in the developing world.

THE CONTEXT

In spite of the neglect of education for citizenship in the developing world, by the former colonial powers, by the developing nations themselves and by international agencies, there are a number of grounds, political, economic and ideological, for considering the present time as particularly propitious for a reconsideration of citizenship education as an integral part of basic education and for a reappraisal of its contribution to national development. The end of the military confrontation between East and West, for example, has seen a growth in the number of democratic governments and a reduction, if not cessation, of competition between East and West in the developing world. Conversely, there

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1/ The views represented in this paper are those of James Lynch, and they do not imply any view, position or policy on the part of his employers, The World Bank.

2/ This paper draws on some of the material contained in my book: (1993), Educational for Citizenship in a Multicultural Society. London and New York: Falmer Press.

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has been a surge in competition between "North" and "South" for the world's increasingly scarce natural resources, linked with growing recognition of the catastrophic rapidity of environmental decline. The demands levied on the international community by the disintegration of national cohesion, ethnic strife and civil war in some developed and developing countries has brought about a sharper recognition of the effects on nations of "unbridled" cultural diversity. Then too, there is now a more sober recognition of the thus far unsuccessful search for a means to overcome the grinding poverty of the Third World, and the way in which political instability in some of those countries impedes economic development.

Further, within a context of a increased emphasis on human resource development as a prerequisite of economic advancement, education is seen to have an increasing role in national development and nation-building in both industrialized and developing countries. Industrialized nations, themselves, are also increasingly aware of a growing social and political anomie in their social fabric, producing a pathology which necessitates new approaches to human social and economic development. There has been increased visibility for human rights issues in the United Nations system and across the globe. Moreover, with the increased ease of international communication and the greater visibility of human rights violations, major initiatives have been taken to call states to the bar of an international political accountability, although there is less scrutiny of their educational accountability. The influence of broader political developments towards cultural diversity and more widespread democracy have also thrust issues of political socialization to the fore. More narrowly within the education sphere, as part of the discourse surrounding such issues as social studies curricula, the growing concern in the 1980s with multicultural education, human rights education, values education and the incipient emergence of law-related education, scholars have begun to turn their attention to the world context within which historically citizenship and civic education have developed and to analyze the pros and cons of a more world-open concept of the word 'citizen'[3]. Finally, it is at last beginning to dawn that if developing countries are to succeed economically, they also have to succeed politically, that so to speak, "democracy is good for business", and that free market economics work best interactively with free market politics[4].

It is evident, however, that in spite of commendable progress, the continuing abuse of human rights, and especially those of women and children and those who are considered by whatever criteria to be "non-normal" by dint of bodily or mental capacity, religion, language or ethnicity, starkly profile the lack of social, economic and educational progress in large areas of the earth and for a majority of its population.

Against this background, the 1980s and 1990s have witnessed two contradictory tendencies: on the one hand, the democratic coming of age of many nations across the globe to such an extent that by the end of 1990 the proportion of the world's countries which could be described as liberal democracies was above 50% of the nations of

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3/ Heater, D (1990), Citizenship. (The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education). London: Longman.

4/ See "Democracy works Best", The Economist (1994), 7878 (332), 27 August, pp 9-10 and 15-17.

the world. On the other hand, the disintegration of previously coherent and stable, if authoritarian regimes in Europe, as well as the breakdown of post independence political stability and the regression of economic and social development in many developing countries, each of which has often been accompanied by interethnic strife, rivalry, bigotry and in some cases brutal civil wars.

In the case of the newcomers to the "democratic club", they were almost immediately faced with the problem of reconciling the freedoms expressive of democratic pluralism with the challenges of cultural diversity in one form or another. Most of these newer democracies had little or no democratic tradition within living memory and their gossamer thin institutional commitment was almost immediately subject to the pressures of a multiculturalism whose very existence had long been denied.

In the case of the developing countries, they continued to struggle against inimical world economic and financial structures, internal strife, dissent and movements for autonomy, often accompanied by continuing economic and cultural hegemony on the part of former colonial countries and the almost total absence of a concept of "national citizenship", let alone any educational provision to secure it. In this respect, the European legacy to developing countries is unhelpful, even counterproductive. Many in the developing world are still encouraged to think that the only good education is that provided by their former colonial masters in the language of that metropolitan centre. The elites of those countries are often brought to disdain their own language, culture and education. The aim is to be educated in the metropolis, by the metropolis and for the metropolis.

To this end, substantial earmarked "technical assistance aid" is provided to expensively educate the few in the metropolitan home base often in areas which are irrelevant to their country's economic development. Many of those with the most appropriate training, in any case, never return to their home countries. To this day, France still maintains a cabinet post for "La Francophonie", jealously guarding the propagation of French language and culture in its former and existing colonies! Even the concern of politicians in these countries with issues of human rights is highly selective and self-interested. In those circumstances, it is hardly surprising that education for national citizenship is not really on the development agenda.

Given such major inhibitions, the issue is neglected of how education, or specifically education for citizenship, can assist in developing the values and institutions necessary to sustain culturally pluralist and democratic societies internally and in their relationships with each other and the rest of the world. More surprising, however, is the fact that even older democracies are faced with the need to reinterpret their often outmoded democratic traditions to attune them to a more modern age of increased cultural diversity combined with a greater global interdependence, which places on them a greater onus for the dissemination and sustenance of democratic values and institutions.

From all three sets of countries, the old democracies and the new, and the newer developing countries a paradox has emerged of a growing conviction, enshrined in international agreements and covenants, of democracy and human rights being the birthrights of all humankind and all nations, rather than the privilege of the few, at the same time as

there has been a neglect of education for citizenship, to enable citizens to secure those rights. The past decades have also seen a major and cumulative shift of paradigm in the way in which human rights are perceived as relating to children and how appropriate health, nutritional and educational services are delivered to them[5]. Increasingly, codifications of such rights are used as yardsticks to judge the performance of nations as well as the entitlements of children. Thus, and particularly since the Jomtien Conference of 1990, the human right to an appropriate education has become a big international issue, with major aid agencies beginning to require conformity with international conventions and norms as part of their quid pro quo for aid. Donor agencies, individually and in groups, are increasingly levying human rights as a conditionality for finance and new organizations, such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development have charters which include a commitment to "the fundamental principles of multiparty democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and market economics"[6].

The challenge has thus gradually become not just economic development, but economic development for all, not just democracy, but democratic citizenship for all; not just human rights for some, but human rights for all, not just education for democratic citizenship for some, but for all. The imperative of the 1990s is to share internationally the values of democratic pluralism in a process which will reinforce global interdependence and active membership of a just local, national and world society. For educators who work in the developing world the challenge of the 1990s is to deliver not just literacy and numeracy, not just access at least to quality primary education for all, but to formulate that education in such a way that it can sustain and develop active citizenship of a pluralist democracy as well, founded on universal values about the nature of human beings and their social behaviour. Their task is to educate concerned and active participants in local and national life, who can critically appraise and judge the merits of domestic and national policies against a clarified and reflective system of values, grounded in human rights and social responsibilities. This essentially emancipatory concept of citizenship education has as its focus issues of power and hegemony, human rights and social responsibility at local and national levels[7].

Such a demand for the inclusion of education for citizenship should not be understood as a demand for another subject to add to what are often already overburdened curricula in many developing countries. Rather it necessitates a new epistemology, which can recognize citizenship objectives in literacy, numeracy and all existing subjects of the school curriculum, in the school's organization and procedures. In this sense, and because it requires a more active teaching/learning mode, it could be seen as a welcome opportunity to review and revise the existing teacher training and school curricula.

5/ One series of books which draws development education to the bar of a human rights accountability is Lynch, J., Modgil, C and Modgil, S (eds), Education and Development: Tradition and Innovation. London and New York: Cassell. (Five Volumes, forthcoming 1996)

6/ See Sonenshine, M (1990), "Time for a Profitable Advance on Human Rights", The Financial Times. London, 21 August, 15.

7/ Giroux, H (1980), "Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education", Curriculum Inquiry, 10; 4, 329-366.

A RATIONALE

Thus, several factors seem to me to have contributed to the need for a reassessment of the role, objectives, process and content of education for citizenship in both developing countries. These factors include:

* the centripetal tendency for culturally pluralist societies to disintegrate unless specific measures are taken to politically socialize for their maintenance and development;

* the realization of the link between democracy and economic progress;

* growing recognition of the injustice of current economic and cultural interrelationships between North and South:

* the commencement of a process of defining the human rights and security of citizens beyond the framework of the nation state and making that state more accountable;

* improvements in international communications and transportation, combined with mass movements of population and increased migration;

* a more vigorous internationalization of educational endeavour, together with the prescription of minimum entitlements, together with proposed financing envelopes;

* the growing internationalization of industry, business and commerce;

* the evident failure of the 19th Century nationalistic model of citizenship education in many industrialized countries, most notably in the Weimar Republic and more recently in Eastern Europe and some developing countries;

* increasing alienation from the political process in industrialized countries, born of growing difficulty on the part of political elites to legitimate the old class-based concept of citizenship;

* the anomie of a significant proportion of modern youth in those societies;

* the internationalization of pollution and conservation; and,

* changes in the aims, content and particularly the processes of citizenship education, influenced by theoretical and practical advances in the social and environmental sciences, law-related education, the discipline of education and theories of teaching.

A number of international developments have also advanced the pace of the debate. The principles, for example, confirmed in the International Convention on the Rights

of the Child, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in November, 1989, which became effective after its ratification by the requisite number of countries in September, 1990, advocate that the education of the child is to be directed to goals which include:

* "...the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;

* the development of respect for the child's own parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living.... and for civilizations different from his or her own;

* the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes, and friendship among peoples...;

* the development of respect for the national environment..."[8]

Or, as the Council of Europe has put it:

"The understanding and experience of human rights is an important element of the preparation of all young people for life in a democratic and pluralistic society. It is part of social and political education and it involves intercultural and international understanding"[9]

DYSFUNCTIONAL CONCEPTS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Basic, universal(?) moral concepts such as human dignity and justice, liberty and equality, human-human and human-environmental interdependence and mutuality in behaviour and judgement underpin such declarations and provide together a motivating ethic for citizenship education. On this ethic rest the human rights and freedoms underpinning those international instruments on human rights which have been adopted by the United Nations. These human rights can provide the moral and motivating force of education for citizenship. They represent a kind of values identikit for a just society. And if the cornerstones of a just society, then so also the cornerstones of a just world society. But for the purposes of a more just world society, a "nationalistic" concept of citizenship education will hardly suffice.

For this reason, those advocating citizenship education for the developing world argue that the traditional European and North American concept of citizenship is neither so ancient nor so hallowed as the advocates of national citizenship and detractors of

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8/ The fact that, in the interests of space, I have abbreviated some of the statements and not quoted all parts of the document, does not indicate a lack of commitment to the others. For the full text, see United Nations (1989), International Convention on the Rights of the Child. New York: United Nations.

9/ Council of Europe (1985), Committee of Ministers, Recommendation No. (85), 7 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

'international' citizenship imply in their arguments. National, as opposed to local citizenship, they argue, only emerged in the age of nationalism, predominantly in the nineteenth century. Since its emergence, the concept has cost the world dearly in war, conflict and national isolation, as well as policies of homogenization of cultures, which have resulted in the downgrading and elimination of many languages and cultures at a more local level. An evolutionary development from loyalty to tribe or city state, through many phases to national and then international citizenship is envisaged, and the question is posed, whether we really have to choose. Increasingly, the lives of all world citizens are touched in concert by environmental peril and economic interdependence. Such interdependence places in question the economic relations and sharing of the world's wealth, settled on the children of the world by the age of nationalism, as well as the continuation of the 'manifest destiny' of past political colonialism with its contemporary legacy of economic colonialism. In any case, it is argued, the world already has regional and international organizations, concerned with political probity, economics and trade, peace, justice, social policy including education, international communications and transportation and many other fields which are controlled not by national but by international regulation.

Then too, many citizens of democratic societies are also calling their own countries to the bar of regional or international accountability, as the world gropes towards the idea that citizens should have recourse to supranational courts to redress the infringement of their rights and freedoms by their own state. This is already occurring not least in areas, such as race relations, gender equity and the rights of children and workers. National legislatures are recognizing the jurisdiction of such courts as well as the legislation of regional and international agencies in their own social, economic and cultural legislation. The law of the land is increasingly a law of the world. Such recourse is not accompanied by accusations of disloyalty against the state, which would have accrued in former times.

Increasingly too, the concept of single nationality is being overtaken by dual or even multiple national appurtenance, and nations no longer see it as a test of national fidelity and reliability that old loyalties are discarded when new ones are acquired. There is also a growing awareness that, at a time of surging competition for the world's scarce and non-renewable economic resources and of growing cross-national radioactive and other pollution, there can be no redemption or rectification in single nation initiatives. In an age when conflicts are increasingly supranational, deriving from age-old ideologies such as religions, when major conflict between haves and have-nots is growing, no one nation, not even the world's super-powers, is adequate to the resolution of the ideological, economic and environmental pressures facing all travellers on spaceship earth.

LEVELS OF "CITIZENSHIP"

Thus, there is an urgent need to capitalize on the evolutionary development of the concept of citizenship from the narrower bounds of familial group or tribe, through the age of the city state and single state nationalism to the age of global rights and responsibilities and the internationalization of the lives of all inhabitants of this planet. We do not have to choose between local and ethnic loyalties, national citizenship and global

community[10]. Indeed, unconsciously, we have already chosen not to make that choice and we are well on the way to recognizing three major levels of group appurtenance: **local community membership**, by which is meant familial, ethnic, community or other cultural and social local groupings, including language, religion and ethnicity but not necessarily linked in the same geographic place at the same time; **national citizenship**, determined by birth or choice, but which may not be an exclusive membership; and, **international citizenship**, which draws on the overlapping and overarching constellations which members of the world community have in common, regardless of the other two levels. It also implies an acceptance by the rich of their responsibility for the human rights and democracy of the poor.

These three levels are interdependent, and for any one of these levels of group membership to be effective, the other levels have to be healthy too. It is the task of education to prepare children for those three levels of consciousness, rights and responsibility, interweaving such preparation simultaneously and interactively, intellectually and experientially through the formal schooling of the child, engaging, of course, with the personal and social skills, knowledge and attitudes, which are necessary to achieve such a goal, and which are intrinsically necessary, regardless of a student's background, learning rates and styles. Such an undertaking has to take into account the needs of individual children as well as the pluralist nature of most societies and of the world. It has to generate the knowledge, skills and insights necessary for creative and active participation, as well as for positive and creative dissent. It has to empower students, intellectually and socially, to make conflict creative and seminal of progress. Students need not be captive to the national prejudices of previous generations. They can come to understand their responsibilities and rights at different levels. They can understand the connection between the profligacy of the few and the poverty of the many. They can make decisions and to act on rational judgements, which manifest respect for persons, due process and reciprocity among all members of the school community. Equally, decisions and judgements of educational institutions need to be responsive to democratic criteria and the principles of mutuality, reciprocity and reversibility.

BROADENING THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

The above factors set a context, within which discussion of a new concept of citizenship can be set and a new more open and global paradigm of citizenship education developed, including for developing countries. For all practical purposes, the three groups of countries express in common the need for a new goal of citizenship education, which can address ethnic, national and international concerns. In that sense, sustainable development becomes not just "development which meets the goals of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs "[11]. The term becomes also expressive of a common task of the construction of a just international society and the

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10/ See, for example, the concept of multiple citizenship in Heater, D. (1990), Citizenship. (the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education). London: Longman, 314-347.

11/ World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), Our Common Future. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

development of an education appropriate to that task, resting on human rights and social responsibilities in a more equal and just relationship between North and South. For, global futures must be more than solely economic They are also about human reciprocity, civil rights and social responsibilities. In other words, the existence of an 'equally just' national society, based on reciprocity and mutuality, requires an equally just international society, and just participant communities are prerequisite to both. The message is: there can be no just citizenship of a just national society, which ignores equal justice to other societies and communities, through social, cultural or environmental insensitivity, ignorance, exploitation or unequal economic, environmental or political covenants.

Expanded to respond to this line of argument, the concept of an 'equally just society', best summarized in the work of Rawls under the first priority principle of equal basic liberties[12], a formulation which links inextricably the ideas of freedom and equality as the foundations of the just society, leads us to ask, whether there can be a just national society which is supportive of an unjust international society. Is it not the case that, the foundations of a just global society are the same as those for a just society, where the equal right of each person to the most extensive system of equal basic liberties consistent with a similar system for all is a fundamental international principle. Thus, the concept of a just world society needs its net caste wider to include many of the legal, economic and social "taken-for-granteds" of the wealthy western democracies. A just global society has both broader geographical parameters and domains of activity, which have been to some extent codified in international instruments and on which many national proclamations of justice remain silent. The concept of the equally just society has been limited to the national arena: a limitation which is at the same time unreasonable, philosophically inconsistent and unjust.

Thus, the need is to reconceptualize and broaden what has been called "the concept of citizenship in a global age"[13] to include both community and global dimensions across all domains of human knowledge, cultural, social, economic, political and environmental. Building on that reconceptualization of citizenship, the aim should be to forge a concept of education for democratic citizenship for local, national and global obligations, which is embedded in human rights and a commitment to social responsibilities. For this, the concept of citizenship education needs to be liberated from the intellectual and political bondage of much that has passed historically for citizenship education and from the dominance of exclusive economic, environmental and political interests of nationally and internationally dominant groups and hegemonies. Such a task implies the need to address not only the combatting of interethnic and other forms of group prejudice, but also 'inter-national' prejudice and even 'hate-education', which is inimical to the achievement of common goals, such as peace and human survival and to the preservation of a common heritage within the biosphere, whether that heritage is environmental, political, economic or cultural. The rationale for its genesis is the manifest need to develop an educational engagement for creative and peaceful conflict resolution as a matter of urgency and to

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12/ See Rawls, J (1971), A Theory of Justice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

13/ Gross, R E and Dynneson, T L (1991), Social Science Perspectives on Citizenship Education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

educate the next generation for the perception and acceptance of an interest greater than economic or political self interest.

The challenge for development educators who work with developing countries (and for those attempting to introduce programmes of citizenship education in the industrialized countries) is as immense as it is urgent. Without substantial attention in both groups of countries to a renewal of citizenship education, the sorry tale of interethnic and international bigotry, hate and conflict is likely to continue. Yet, how to achieve such a goal is not at all clear. A new subject? A cross-curricular theme? For primary schools, secondary or tertiary institutions, or for all three? What would be the content and teaching/learning approaches? How could the ringing tones of United Nations declarations, agreements and covenants be translated into action? Could nations ever agree on the basic values to be included? How would the teachers be trained? Could the major elements be incorporated within basic literacy and numeracy? Could the high ideal of democratic citizenship education be hijacked by authoritarian regimes? With declining unit costs in education in many countries, what are the costs of meeting the challenge? And what are the costs of not meeting the challenge?

SOME PATHWAYS TO CHANGE

Of course, the first task is to place the issue of education for citizenship in culturally diverse developing countries on the agenda of development education. It has to be seen as a priority within the overall agenda for development education; an indispensable part of education for all, of the programme of action to achieve that goal and appropriately resourced. That process has, as yet hardly begun, although as indicated above there are already a number of springboards to action. But, there are few "citizenship educators" in developing countries, while at the moment the issue is very actual in European countries, Australasia and in North America. For this reason, this paper may be seen as a clarion call to both development educators and to those concerned with citizenship education, in whatever form; human rights education; law-related education or whatever, to spread their concern for a more just society and for greater participation and responsibility among the citizens of that society, to reach out to their responsibility also for justice and participation in the developing world. For development educators, the call is to engage with this issue, looking for appropriate models from the developed world, but subjecting them with a principled and searing critique, which will yield an indigenous model, which is yet world-open

There are many ways to achieve successfully the goals of a commitment to 'citizenship education', while still remaining true to common underlying human values. At the school level, and without "blowing" the meagre finances available for basic and primary education in the developing world. One of these strategies is to look for "coalitions of citizenship education with other subjects: as part of literacy and numeracy or environmental studies, which already exist as part of the basic education curriculum of most developing countries. Proposals for one such new coalition in the curriculum, for example, pulling together social and environmental concerns, began to emerge in a number of countries and contexts in the early 1980s. Reports in the United States proposed the integration of science-technology-society (STS) to prepare students in school for a future citizenship role, which demands the participation of members of democratic societies to deal with science and

technology-related societal problems[14]. Experimental studies appear to suggest that preparation for such STS citizenship engagement requires not only the appropriate knowledge and awareness, but also the learning of investigation skills and action strategies[15], thus overlapping with approaches which would be essential to the delivery of citizenship education.

Similarly, in the United Kingdom by the early 1970s, environmental education was developing strongly in both primary and secondary schools, as well as in many institutions of teacher education, either under the head of environmental education, conservation studies, outdoor education, including field visits, or urban studies. As part of the introduction of a new national curriculum, consequent on the passage of the 1988 Education Reform Act, and in the context of Britain's first White Paper on environmental issues[16], education about, for in and through the environment was introduced as a cross-curricular theme for all pupils in primary and secondary schools[17]. These measures on environmental education were being developed at the same time as the so-called Speaker's Commission on Citizenship was sitting and preparing its report[18]. The establishment of the Citizenship Foundation and the designation of education for citizenship as a cross-curricular theme in the national curriculum were also significant advances[19]. In Europe, human rights education continues to be a current concern and not just of the Council of Europe.

In Australia too, the Hobart Declaration on Schooling, ratified by the Australian Education Council in 1989, led to a mapping of the existing society and environment courses in Australia and projectively to the development of a national curriculum framework for studies of society and the environment[20]. Moreover, in developing countries, as part of the reform of the primary curriculum, associated with the increased international and national commitment to Universal Primary Education from the early 1990s, environmental studies was increasingly recognized as the core of the primary curriculum alongside literacy and numeracy. Such precursors can provide the initial spurs to

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14/ National Science Teachers Association (1982), Science-Technology-Society: Science Education for the 1980s. Washington, D C: NSTA; and, National Council for the Social Studies (1983), "Guidelines for Teaching Science-Related Societal Issues", Social Education, 47; (April/May), 258 - 61.

15/ See, for example, the article by Rubba, summarizing research in the field of STS teaching. Rubba, P A (1990), "STS Education in Action: What Researchers Say to Teachers", Social Education, 54; 4, 201 - 3.

16/ Her Majesty's Government (1990), This Common Inheritance. London: HMSO, contains a chapter on "Knowledge, Education and Training".

17/ National Curriculum Council, Environmental Education. (Curriculum Guidance 7). York, England: NCC.

18/ Speaker's Commission on Citizenship (1990), Report: Encouraging Citizenship. London: HMSO.

19/ See, for example, National Curriculum Council (1990), Education for Citizenship (Curriculum Guidance 8). York: NCC.

20/ Quoted in Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training (1991), Active Citizenship Revisited. Canberra: Publications Unit, Department of the Senate, 9.

the development of an indigenous citizenship education for and by developing countries. Citizenship education can contribute to and draw on the necessary process of 'inter-discipline' discourse between social and environmental domains of human experience and knowledge, both in terms of its content and processes. But, first of all the issue needs to be placed on the development agenda.

SOME CONTINUING PROBLEMS

It has to be acknowledged that there are still major intellectual and academic problems to be overcome, as well as political ones, before a more intensive academic cooperation can emerge to provide citizenship education proposed in this paper for developing countries. Notwithstanding more recent initiatives, for example in the field of sociobiology, there is still a certain ambivalence, perhaps even paradigmatic inability, on the part of competing social science disciplines to absorb environmental parameters into their academic biography in such a way as to facilitate more active interaction and discourse among nature, society and culture[21].

Then too, insofar as they attempt to specifically educate for democratic citizenship, many Western nations still resort to the old cliches and sometimes jingoistic symbols, in similar vein to those of the nation states of the nineteenth century: king and country, national interest, linguistic or cultural pride; in other words narrower national objectives and expectations more suited to another time and more restricted place than the twentieth century world. Even where such feelings were combined with a commitment to education for democracy, it was inevitably articulated within the confines, traditions and literature of a single nation-state and only rarely related to a more global context[22]. Linked to the fostering of feelings of democracy are often strains of national or linguistic superiority, even supremicism; in other words the very grist to the mill of international conflict and cultural bigotry, which had already provided the seedbed for stereotypical perceptions, ethnic and national prejudice, cultural and economic conflict, genocide, holocaust and disastrous war. Often too, in schools, the overall aim was to teach about citizenship rather than to educate through and for it, and it was usually conceptualized as being the prerogative of another subject area and not as a part of the whole curriculum and the task of all educators and the whole school.

Even the establishment of organizations dedicated to an international concept of citizenship were unable, with all of their laudable efforts, to marshal the support to shift the paradigm of citizenship and citizenship education into the latter years of the twentieth century and the increasingly global realities of human cultural, social economic and

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21 This point is made in Buttel, F H (1986), "Sociology and the Environment: The Winding Road Toward Human Ecology", International Social Science Journal, 38; 3, 337 - 56.

22 Masemann, V L (1989), "The Current Status of Teaching about Citizenship in Canadian Elementary and Secondary Schools", in McLeod, K A (ed), (1989), Canada and Citizenship Education. Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Education Association, 27-52.

environmental existence[23], let alone to articulate a new paradigm for citizenship education within the totality of the schooling process. Yet, the process had begun and that movement was further spurred by a number of broader political developments and a closer awareness of the arguments ranged for and against a reconceptualization of the concept of citizenship and education for it.

Education for citizenship will in some senses, require a sea-change in values, epistemologies, structures and the mechanisms whereby we regulate our interactions as members of local communities, national states and international society across the domains of knowing which we use to construct and structure our social, economic and environmental reality[24]. A concept of citizenship, respectful of human rights and drawing on the ethic of a just society, must imply equal international as well as equal intranational justice. It is no longer possible to covet the just society within the confines of the nation state and to neglect the justice of others or, worse, exploit them. Moreover, that equal justice has to be across the board, social, political, economic and environmental.

Such an epistemological revolution as that involved in the renewal of citizenship education, proposed in this paper, is as difficult a task for development educators, as it is for their co-advocates of citizenship education in the industrialized countries. It has to break the moulds of existing educational paradigms and orthodoxies, often based on narrow economic self interest, purposive rational relationships, distance from nature, professional ignorance and rule by technocracy. Far from cherishing a diversity of cultural perceptions, schools repeatedly transmit to pupils and their parents that they must unlearn their cultures and adopt the technicist values of western society.

THE CHALLENGE

Thus, the need is for a new concept of citizenship and for a new concept of education to prepare for it, freed from the existing anomie, anonymity and atomistic modes of human association and society which have dominated western nations since the time of the Enlightenment. What is needed is a concept of political association which can engender humane, cooperative and organic modes of human association and interaction, drawing on the virtues of social, economic and environmental self-restraint, rather than instrumental, competitive, materialistic, atomized and exploitative relationships, which drive human beings ever more to a kind of inner immigration into individualistic solitude, unsustainable consumerism and ecological suicide. In short, the need is to retrieve the ethic of "fraternity", based on the perception of a greater common interest than self-interest.

That greater common interest embraces all domains of human experience,

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23 See, for example, the History of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, set up by the League of Nations Union at the start of the second World War, Heater, D. (1984), Peace Through Education. London: The Falmer Press.

24 An interesting presentation based on the concept of ecological citizenship, which picks up some of the issues in this section, is Ophuls, W (1980), "Citizenship and Ecological Education", Teachers College Record, 82; 2, 217 - 42.

from the economic to the environmental and in essence what is at issue is the paradigm we use to make sense of our social reality and strive for our own satisfaction and improvement and those of human kind. Is it to be the paradigm of selfish utilitarianism, of individualistic, rationalistic materialism, which recognizes no higher order morality than self interest and the most efficient allocation of resources? Or, is it one which recognizes human beings as deeply normative affective members of social collectivities, sustained by their relationships in community, finding their satisfaction and the human norms for their judgements in caring as much about others as in pursuing their own narrow social or economic self interest? As Etzioni has argued, we are now in the middle of a paradigm struggle in response to such questions[25]. The old individualistic, utilitarian neoclassical paradigm is no longer adequate to the needs of a world with galloping economic, social, cultural and economic problems. An alternative community-focussed paradigm, which can take account of both individual rights and responsibilities, and of different levels of "community-appurtenance" is needed, together with a corresponding shift in the paradigm of the education which prepares future members of those communities.

If knowledge internationally and within nations is used to disenfranchise and disempower the practical experience, knowledge reality and values of those in need, ignorance, economic decline, environmental degradation, disease and starvation will ensue[26]. Poverty will increase and human injustice will prevail. But that outcome is by no means predetermined, for knowledge can also be used for the cultural reconstruction of the human condition, for social and economic realignment of the material conditions and the rediscovery of ideological and political coalitions which can liberate the human spirit from material and intellectual bondage and destruction of the very environment which is necessary for survival. Thus, there is a need to reconceptualize our view of the educational implications of human rights-based citizenship for democracy within a context of cultural diversity, which is now increasingly seen to include an international dimension[27].

To achieve that goal, change will be needed in the attitudes and expectations of the rich and powerful nationally and internationally. As the World Development Report for 1990 states, ".. a substantial increase in the resources for fighting poverty appears entirely affordable. It is a matter of political commitment and the reassessment of donor's priorities"[28]. The "Challenge of Development" is the most important challenge facing the

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25 Etzioni, A (1988), The Moral Dimension: Toward a New Economics. New York: The Free Press.

26 For a more detailed exposition of this case, see Gran, G (1986), "Beyond African Famines: Whose Knowledge Matters?", Alternatives, XI: 2, 275-296 (April).

27 One recent publication argues that transnational ethnic networks (global tribes" are likely to play an ever-increasing role in the world economy. See Kotkin, J (1992), How Race, Religion and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy. New York: Random House.

28 The World Bank (1990), Poverty: The World Development Report 1990. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 136.

human race[29], but that challenge cannot be responded to even at the narrow economic level without a new covenant for political stability and international sharing. If the developed world is in earnest in its pursuit of human rights and democratic citizenship, then it has to provide the means to achieve that goal for developing countries as well. There are costs for the rich and powerful, if the benefits of the ringing instruments proclaimed by the rich are to penetrate to the poorer countries of the world. Not to accept the 'costs' would be to be unfaithful to those declared commitments to human rights and international responsibilities.

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29 The World Bank (1991), The Challenge of Development. Oxford: Oxford University Press for The World Bank, 1.